26: Brüning--46-47 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 175, 436

In former years the Indians came as far as Bella Vista and later even to Bagua Chica in order to exchange parrots and other animals for articles of everyday use. Raimondi tells us that in 1845 the Aguarunas destroyed at the same time the mestizo-settlements [47] Puyaya and Copallín, the one situated on the right bank of the Marañón River, somewhat below the Rentema, the other on the left bank.

The old mestizo Santiago Lara, one of the survivors of Copallín and now 56 years old, told me in Bagua Chica the following story concerning the destruction of Copallín: "It happened in about 1856 that Jibaros first attacked the houses that were situated outside the village. The inhabitants of the chief settlement, warned by the clamor, were given a chance to flee. My father took me on his shoulders, and we fled, like the others into a mountain gorge. When the Indians came, they found the village deserted. They carried away everything they regarded as valuable, but they did no damage to the buildings." And yet, neither Copallín nor Puyaya was ever resettled by its inhabitants. Another Copallín was founded on the right bank of the Uteabamba River.

26: Brüning--48 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 436

In order to get articles that were valuable to them the Indians started to collect the products of their forests. In exchange for rubber, various resins, canoes, Maní, yucca, bananas, tamed animals and parrots the Indians ask for Winchester repeating arms, rifles and the necessary ammunition, axes, knives, scissors, needles, fish-hooks, mirrors, cotton wares, sewing thread, etc. At that time the rate of exchange was the following: For a small canoe for six people they would receive an ordinary single-barrelled rifle (European value perhaps 10 Marks). For a hen or a large bunch of bananas they would receive one vara (84 cm.) of Tocuyo (thin, unbleached cotton, muslin?). In exchange for a basket (15 liter) of ground-nuts (maní) they could barter 4 vara (336 cm.) of Tocuyo. I have witnessed it several times in Nazaret that the Indians were terribly cheated with regard to weight when they made their rubber deliveries to the white men, and I could see it from the expression on their faces that they were aware of the fraud.

26: Brüning--59 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 386, 436

For dyeing purposes the Indians use the leaf of a tree which they call yamakáy. The dye stuff is chocolate-brown. I cannot tell whether they dye the cotton or rather the yarn. They dye fabrics which they acquire through barter.

While the blowgun is their hunting weapon, the spear is their war weapon. At the same time, the spear is part of the etiquette, for a man would never leave the house without it, even if he would visit only his nextdoor neighbor. It is the weapon that signifies masculine dignity.

Spears with iron points were generally in use when I visited the Indians. The point (see Figure 7) has a socket at the bottom. The shaft is fastened into the socket with the help of resin. The spear or lance has a length of 2 1/2 - 3 1/2 meters. They are said to obtain the iron points by way of barter from the Indians along the upper Senepa. The points are said to come from Ecuador. The spear with the iron point is called nánki by the Indians. Formerly spears were used shaped out of the wood of the chonta palm, and they still occur in isolated instances. The shape of their point is the same as the iron one, but its cross-section shows a somewhat concave outline. Shaft and point are made out of one piece. These chonta lances are called angös.

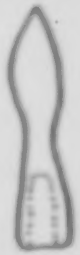

Figure 7.

Iron Spear Point

26: Brüning-- 71-72 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 411, 177, 436

In all the tambos I found Winchester rifles which they had obtained from the rubber collectors by barter for rubber. But since the Indians most of the time do not have any [72] shot to go with it, these rifles are for the most part ornamental pieces. As a matter of fact, the Indians are not too fond of rifles since, they maintain, their report chases the game off.

In their tambos they have special stands where all the weapons are vertically placed and with great orderliness. Especially the blowguns have to be kept in a vertical position, otherwise they would bend.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed information was through interpreters. However, unlike my predecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177 machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos
648 returned the visit of the *šuarä*.
439

[173] With this initiation of trade relations between the two
[166] groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land
[441] between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel
[317] machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly
[231] to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to
[765] purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro
[173] on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25]
[765] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

175 Macas remained the only significant source of Western-
648 manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year,
439 the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza,
[797] to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish)
[231] sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both
[436] cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline
[464] occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

175 The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Guala-
797 quiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind
439 them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first
648